Mohawk Airwaves and Cultural Dialogues: Reflections on Radio Kahnawake's "The Party Line" During the Summer of 1990

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The telephone . . . made it possible, in a sense, to be in two places at the same time. It allowed people to talk to one another across great distances, to think about what others were feeling and to respond at once without the time to reflect afforded by written communication. . . Party Lines created another kind of simultaneous experience, because in the early systems bells rang along the entire line and everyone who was interested could listen in (Kern 1991: 188).

. . . Indeed, a wondrous fabric of speech is here woven into the record of each day (Baxter 1906: 235).

In Québec, many minority ethnocultural / multiracial communities and aboriginal nations (Mohawk, Cree, Inuit, Attikamek-Montagnais, Algonquin, Mic Mac) are actively involved in radio production, but this fact is not well known because of short-range audience reach and lack of publicity funds. During the summer of 1990, this anonymity changed in the Mohawk territories as the multiple voices of the Mohawk people broadcast over very small radio stations CKRK in Kahnawake and CKHQ in Kanehsatake took on a broad and very important public profile. Using their two stations as public address systems, the people involved in the 1990 Mohawk/ governments' confrontation[2] provided Kahnawake and Kanehsatake residents with daily information of a strategic nature necessary to survive their

ordeal throughout the summer. The most critical differences between radio stations CKHQ and CKRK were in their audience reach and in the mobility of their staffs.

Kanehsatake

Because Kanehsatake is not a reserve, the land occupied by the native population is a patchwork quilt of territory. CKHQ is located on a road that was occupied and regularly surveyed by Canadian security officials. If CKHQ staff had left the station, there would have been no guarantee that they could have returned. For this reason, two dedicated Mohawk broadcasters, Marie David and Bev Nelson decided not to risk the closure of the station. They made the difficult decision to live there, instead, not knowing how long they would be away from their homes and families. They ate minimally because of food shortages, and slept at the community radio station from July 11 until the very end of the crisis on September 29, 1990.

Kanehsatake radio's local audience size remained fairly stable throughout the summer. CKHQ reached residents on the uncontested native territories, occupants of the Treatment Centre involved in the conflict and the immediate neighbouring populations of Oka and Hudson (across Lac St. Louis). It had minor spillover to other neighbouring communities as well. As CKHQ access to the outside world was limited, the station used telephone and fax lines to link up with national and international support groups as an on-site witness to the unfolding events, which were locally reported by telephone. They also received radio programming from CKRK.

Audience numbers were further multiplied as other radio stations across, and outside of, Canada were alerted to the important role the station was playing in the day-to-day survival of the community. Mohawk

broadcasters were interviewed by Canadian and international radio and television services almost every day during the summer of 1990. Excerpts from the stations' programming were sometimes supplied to other stations by telephone or occasionally sneaked out by a supportive Montreal journalist for rebroadcast on Montreal, regional, national, or international stations, which had larger audiences.

Kahnawake

Kahnawake, a reserve, is much larger than Kanehsatake and its interior was not occupied by the Canadian authorities. The population, therefore, had freedom of movement within the village territories, and in some cases, limited accesss to the outside world, through crossing over the St. Lawrence Seaway by boat to Lachine or Dorval.

During the summer, CKRK staff was limited to three (including station manager Conway Jocks). Some staff had evacuated the community when they realized how long the confrontation might last. Others, who were non-resident, had decided not to risk entry because of the anger of the anti-Mohawk residents of the surrounding communities through which they would have to pass to get onto the reserve.

CKRK's audience was much larger than that of CKHQ and often included the listeners of CKHQ, weather permitting. CKRK directed its antenna towards Kanehsatake, hoping that atmospheric conditions would carry their signal to the other besieged community. It was also received in Chateauguay, other south shore communities, and the western sections of the island of Montreal. CKRK was a better known station than CKHQ, having been on air since 1980. Like CKHQ, CKRK staff were involved in publicizing their perspectives by supplying on-site information to outside broadcasting networks. They were easier to access, with more than one phone line and a

fax, and they became a popular source of information.

At a time just after the federal government's financial cutbacks to native communications technical, administrative, and program development, Radio Kahnawake became the loudest First Nations broadcast voice in southern Quebec, reaching over 300,000 listeners during its peak listening periods, which included its phone-in show (Higgins 1990: 14).[3] CKRK played a pivotal role in providing alternative forms of information and was strategic in at least two ways: (1) it built a public opinion support base for the Mohawk position; (2) it acted as a conflict mediator of the many small and large crises as they occurred.

One of the outstanding features broadcast on CKRK during the summer of 1990 was its phone-in show, "The Party Line". This paper focuses on the "The Party Line", its history and context, its particular style, its role within and outside the community, its host, and its significance as a vehicle for promoting cross-cultural communications. But first, some background about CKRK.

CKRK: Action and Reaction Centre

CKRK, the Kahnawake Mohawk Radio Broadcasting system, began in 1978 as the communication voice of the Kanienkehaka Raotitiohkwa Cultural Center, a local institution dedicated to the promotion and reinforcement of Mohawk culture and language. The community radio station's primary goal was to circulate native information within Kahnawake and to propagate the discussion of issues pertinent to Mohawk tribal members. CKRK has played a critical role in reinforcing Mohawk cultural beliefs and in facilitating open discussions about subjects as far-ranging as land claims and how to bring up children the traditional way. Establishing a forum for existing

Mohawk language speakers, it provided a support for the revitalization of the spoken native word and the creation of a more vibrant cultural environment for elementary school students attending the band-controlled Mohawk immersion school system on the reserve.

CKRK's original secondary objective was to "inform our drop-in listeners of who we are and what we believe in" (Jocks 1991: 1). For this reason, CKRK's management erected a 50- watt antenna giving the station an audience reach well outside of the local community perimeters. This technical decision permitted the Mohawk peoples' broadcasts to be easily picked up in the southwestern districts of Montreal and most south shore communities, resulting in a direct opportunity to use the medium for cross-cultural public relations purposes. This, no doubt, had both positive and negative consequences before, during and after the crisis: positive because non-native outsiders could hear "insiders' views" and develop a broader and perhaps more balanced perspective on the complex background issues; negative because of the risks of appropriation by outsiders seeking "their own" tool or vehicle of representation.

CKRK management has attempted to maintain a policy of neutrality in regard to reserve politics since 1989, when its potential influence within the community became recognized and tested by local groups competing for persuasive powers. Because this was widely known at the time of the governments/Mohawk confrontation, the station became one of the public sources of information and communication most trusted by its dedicated community of listeners - composed mostly of English and Mohawk-speakers. There is no French spoken at the station and very little used in the community.

In the summer of 1990, this meant that if French radio and television programming were to be monitored for public attitudes toward the confrontation, the information would have to be supplied by bilingual

listeners who volunteered to translate for the staff and English-speaking listeners.

CKRK's policy during the confrontation was to act as "normal" as possible, maintaining the usual diversity of programming. Music Playlists tended to have high message value, e.g. "Give Peace a Chance" by John Lennon or "The Freedom Song" by Frosty, a well-known resident of Kahnawake. The station featured and transmitted the following kinds of program elements: surveillance information; survival tips; hints on how to extend limited resources; public service announcements regarding military / police manoeuvres; the comings and goings of residents; political negotiations updates; news updates from the field; appeals to the public for calm and sobriety by members of the Band council; prepared answers to public questions; converstions with witnesses and participants from the front lines; ads; and political statements. The station became one of the most important vehicles for keeping the town informed in a fairly calm manner and for retaining open channels to outside communities. Talk-back radio programming was the most effective way of encouraging and promoting communication with outsiders..

Talk-Back Radio

Talk-back radio has long been acknowledged as a potent medium for producing public debate because it enables dialogues among participants from outside the framework of "produced radio" programming (Moss and Higgins 1982; 1986). It opens up a mediaspace in which anyone within the reception range can anonymously contribute what they consider to be a meaningful statement about the subject being discussed. In other words, callers can openly speak out and take on a variety of personae in which contentious statements may be made with less potential for negative

consequence than there would be should one's image be publicly visible. This, of course, is not to say that talk-back radio operates without any constraints at all. First, in Canada the Broadcasting Act (1991)[4] and Radio Regulations (1986), do not permit the broadcasting of abusive comment that is intended to expose a group of persons to hatred or contempt on the basis of race. Second, the host and production team control the mechanics of the program, including how the host takes up, interprets, and reframes the comments of the callers.

What distinguished CKRK's phone-in program from those at other stations in Quebec was its advantageous position of being "inside the barricades" thereby providing access to the actual voices of people involved in the conflict and the attempts at its resolution. Of course, CKRK staff could also monitor most other regional broadcast channels and provide their listeners with both a dual and a more complex perspective. Other stations could not provide this range of voices.

"The Party Line" phone-in program became the time in which Mohawk community solidarity was cemented. It also became the point of cross-cultural exchange with the outside world. This latter accomplishment made "The Party Line" very different from most other English and French phone-in programs broadcast throughout Québec.

There were many similarities, however, with other talk-back shows. Each station attracted same-language speakers with common sets of preliminary assumptions about the political nature of the conflicts. Most callers' statements were used by the hosts to build support for the stations' and/or their own preferred or dominant interpretive rationales for the confrontation and its historical unfolding. Callers sometimes challenged the hosts' particular visions/versions of the crisis and got into heated debates over the air. Many participants just loved a good verbal sparring

session with a contentious host.

"The Party Line": Cultural Dialogues

> **When the SQ attacked the Oka barricades we reported it as straight news, but on that same newscast we also included an item that earlier that day, some men, obviously Warriors, beat up MUC officers on the reserve following a police chase.**
>
> **Within a few days we realized the barricades would be up for awhile and the situation would worsen and the radio station would be an important element. I determined then that I would call on my military experience and instituted a policy of calm, dispassioned and reasoned damage control, as if I weren't part of what was going on. Public enemy number one was rumor. There was a strict rule of confirming the more serious reports and ignoring the rest. Our goal was to be of service to the community in a time of crisis (Conway Jocks 1991: 5).**

During the summer of 1990, limited staff made it necessary for the station to make programming adjustments. Most important, the station wanted to maintain a sense of normalcy. To aid in community communications, the station manager saw the value of the phone-in program as a means of "keeping important conversations going". So, an extended phone-in show was approved at the beginning of the summer. Easily accessible for community information exchange, the first phone-in shows reported such high listenership that Jocks decided to install a talk show over the lunch hour and a second show in the evening between 7 and 9 p.m., sometimes lasting till 10 p.m. After trying out as host himself, Jocks found his time was needed for more urgent matters. He approached Nathalie Foote, a former announcer at CKRK and one of the few who had remained behind the barricades. Initially reluctant, she decided to take it on.

The program soon turned into a barricade jumper, the only direct link with the outside world for us inside who were rapidly taking on a fortress mentality (Jocks 1991: 7).

During the summer of 1990, CKRK's "Party Line" opened with an Indian prayer:

O Great Spirit, whose voice I hear in the winds and whose breath gives life to all the world, hear me. I come before you - one of your many children. I am small and weak. I need your strength and wisdom. Let me walk in beauty and make my eyes ever behold the red and purple sunset. Make my hands respect the things you have made, my ears sharp to hear your voice. Make me wise so that I may know the things you have taught my people, the lesson you have hidden in every leaf and drop. I seek strength not to be superior to my brothers, but to be able to fight my greatest enemy - myself. Make me ever ready to come to you with clean hands and straight eyes so when life fades as a fading sunset, my spirit may come to you - without shame.

This was followed by an announcement of the Talk Show rules. These were quite simply:

1. **No foul language was to be used on the air.**

2. **No use of last names would be permitted. If anyone wanted to leave any last name with the station, they were requested to ask to speak with someone at the office and s/he would transfer the person.**

3. **No naming of people coming onto or going off Kahnawake land was permitted.**

And finally came the familiar -

CKRK. You're on the air.

Over the four-month period, "The Party Line" program emerged as a local and regional focal point for the organization and dissemination of critical information and public opinion. Nathalie handled crisis radio well. She was patient, direct, and soothing. She knew that not only the community members, including the Warriors were listening, but also that many of the Chateauguay and Lasalle people would be eavesdropping. Friendly and chatty, she would often ask the first caller about the situation in their local neighbourhood, as she does here on July 30.

Are your kids able to go out without mishaps? Are you able to go to stores for groceries? How do you feel about the army situation?

She would then respond to the agendas and issues delivered to the show by other callers.

Her show became very popular over the summer, as she began to demonstrate one of the most innovative uses of radio to which I have been exposed. With sometimes over 100 calls an hour coming in, she developed a technique for diffusing tension - psychotherapeutic radio - much like a broadcast form of Tel-Aide. With her soft-spoken voice, Nat invited callers to explain their feelings throughout the crisis. She encouraged some of the perpetrators of racism to call and target their hostilities in her direction, even if they spoke only in broken English. Here is an example of her conversational strategy:

For the residents in Chateauguay area who did, indeed, call for the army to come in, I'd like to hear how you feel now that they are here. I'd like to hear your side of the

coin. Let's just flip it over there (August 16, 1990).

On other occasions, she invited Mohawk effigy burners and 'throwers of rocks at Mohawk cars' to come forward with their explanations and their verbally-articulated racism.

She hoped that a response to this kind of plea would substitute for physical brutality. The reasoning was that, as Martin Luther King had suggested, if violence is the language of the inarticulate, the opportunity to publicly speak might diminish the need to act physically. Many listeners responded. At the end of their hostile comments, she would say "Thank you" and hang up. She rarely "blew her cool" and maintained a fairly consistent level of diplomacy through some very tense periods. Nat developed new ways of using radio to diffuse hostile energy. She used radio for catharsis and conflict mediation.

But there were hundreds of supportive callers, too, many of whom were non-Indians calling to pledge their solidarity or to advise insiders of police build-ups in a particular region. Some telephoned to warn others of potential racial harrassment in certain locales off the reserve. Many called to congratulate the Mohawks and to wish them well. Some called to recite poems that they had written in response to their personal upset at the conflict. Bilingual (French/English) businesspeople from Chateauguay stressed their concern about the possible economic consequences of the developing ethnic cleavages that were becoming more pronounced each day the Mercier bridge stayed blocked. French-speakers among the audience would report their barometer readings of public opinion among the French population, derived from their consumption of print, radio, and television coverage.

Needing access to information from as many sources as possible, the station encouraged its audience members to become journalists in their

own right, informing the station of details of the crisis from their individual or groups' experiences and perspectives. This, very likely, attracted many activist listeners to the station. It was a way of contributing a small amount of energy to a cause over which supportive non-residents had very little power to influence.

Not surprising as a strategy of psychological survival, too, there were attempts to retain a sense of humour - as a way of gaining some critical distance on the events. For example, one evening, Nat opened her show with the following reading called **La Barricade**. This was a direct take-off on a popular LaBatt beer ad at the time.

La Barricade.

So the other night, I went to La Barricade, wolfing down la cookhouse food, sharing graciously with la spectators. Then I see him. Ooh! the warrior of my dreams. I want to kiss him on the la lips, la earlobe, but la bandana is covering his face. Then, from out of nowhere steps la SQ. I immediately show him la weapon. Unfortunately for me, la weapon is . . . la. . . baseball bat (August 16, 1990).

Humour, of course, was part of the strategy to maintain a sense of routine normality on the airwaves.

The station also continued to play local ads, such as that of the community's Caisse Populaire, which ironically used the catch phrase of "No trips needed anymore to get access to money" in an attempt to convince Kahnawake residents of the Bank's "convenient" location.

Public Service Announcements interrupted the phone-in program regularly, but were a critical part of the program's appeal - its currency, its on-the-spot updates. Certain messages were coded in Mohawk for security and privacy reasons, requiring knowledge of very specific and local

information in exchange for the decoded messages.

One of the other ways in which a daily routine was maintained was through continuing to play Radio Bingo during its scheduled time. Preliminary discussion about whether or not to continue on-air Bingo went something like this:

Caller: Something was mentioned about bingo. I don't mean to be rude, but I think we should keep our lines open. I think we should really really concentrate on what's going on.

Nat: Well, we've had some phone calls about the bingo. Ironically enough, the ones that do want the bingo have called and it's been an overwhelming plea to please have bingo to give people time to unwind . . .

Caller: . . . unwind and relax.

Nat: Yes, unwind and relax. And that's the reason the bingo's going on, because the people asked for it. You know, they're saying they realize there's no place for the people to go and every time they put on the radio or TV (what have you), it's a little bit tense, and the consensus is they'd appreciate if the bingo would go on. As you know, it was cancelled yesterday and we had said tentatively speaking that it would go on this evening and like I said, tentatively. We are going to have the bingo to kind of have everybody try to get back into a kind of normal situation - keep their mind off of things.

However, since we are talking about bingo, one of the concerns has been how are we going to know what is happening. Do not worry, if it takes us until 12 o'clock to do bingo, every time there is an announcement, then it is going to be made. I don't care if it's the first game or whatever. We are going to break in immediately and pass it on so people out there needn't worry about that. Our fax machine is going crazy and every time we get something it get's faxed and it goes right out over the air. I don't know if you were

listening last night, but statements were being read from the fax and it was breaking into the regular program. I know you must be tired. So take care and be in touch and keep those babies safe. *Owen*[5] **(July 14, 1990).**

Bingo is an important ongoing entertainment activity on the reserve. Keeping Radio Bingo on the community airwaves marked a degree of stability as an extension of sual daily activities, so much desired during the stressful summer.

CKRK as a Tool of Media Literacy

Beyond the perimeters of the crisis territory, most (though not all) talk-show guests and phone-in hosts were "outsiders" responding to the already mediated representations of the confrontation and commenting on these from afar. Radio Kahnawake's phone-in program, on the other hand, functioned as a news net - capturing eye-witness "insider" perspectives from "right there" in the contested pines and on the barricaded bridge and electronically portayed them to the outside world.

Marginal to conventional media and clearly representing the conflicted community's interests, Radio Kahnawake became identified as a powerful venue for hearing complaints about some of the distorted journalism on mainstream channels. Reports came in about conversations and hostilities that had taken place on other radio venues, such as CJMS, which had a rather sensationalist talk-show host orchestrating the "impression of anti-Mohawk racism". Often, Nat received calls initiated to "straighten out the media record".

During the latter part of the summer, it was alleged that Gilles Proulx used his CJMS talk-back program as an information base around

which protesters could organize. In other words, he was suspected of having used some of his time on-air to build popular support for anti-Mohawk vigilante groups involved in the confrontation. Furthermore, witnesses calling CKRK claimed that the same host had been seen in Chateauguay standing atop a motor vehicle, wearing a "Solidarité Chateauguay" vigilante group T-shirt, and shouting anti-Mohawk slogans over a megaphone. Given how hard it is for most people to separate the private- from the publicly-scrutinized citizen, such as a well-known radio host, this was a compromising position for an influential, public figure. The same host was also alleged to have incited violent behaviour and racism on the day of the St. Louis de Gonzague bridge incident of rock-throwing. He was suspected (on August 28) of having rebroadcast an announcement from Radio Kahnawake indicating the time during which a specific number of Mohawk people would cross the Mercier Bridge in a convoy evacuation of the community for health and safety reasons. It was believed by some that the retransmission of this information over CJMS informed the anti-Mohawk protesters when and where to go to meet the Mohawks should they have wanted a racist confrontation. The position of Radiomutuel Inc., licensee of CJMS, has been that its objective throughout the summer was to provide a wide range of speech opportunities for people of all political persuasions. This included spokespeople from Solidarité Chateauguay and Lasalle. Vice-President, Michel Arpin, argued that his station reflected the diversity of opinion required by the Canadian Broadcasting Act (1976).

The issue was investigated by the CRTC - the Canadian Radio-Television/Telecommunications Commission (Canada's broadcasting regulatory agency) in conjunction with the federal Department of Justice, after it received at least seven complaints that Gilles Proulx had made "perceived racist comments" on his program - fueling anti-Mohawk sentiments (Higgins 1990: 16). In a recent interview with the CRTC

Québec Regional Manager, Mme. Lucie Audet, regarding the outcome of this inquiry, she informed me that the CRTC could only legally prove that M. Proulx had conveyed the "impression of racist attitudes in his overall output, but that he had made comments about the Warriors, as opposed to the Mohawks, and therefore, could not be prosecuted, because Warriors are not a race" (Mme. Lucie Audet, Personal Interview: April 10,1992).

Another example of the phenomenon of "getting the record straight" was a caller's complaint to Nat that a sound byte of his interview with CFCF was taken out of context and broadcast on Pulse News:

Caller: I'm calling to straighten out the record. I was on Pulse News on CFCF TV last night, and they misquoted me. This is what they showed me saying: "What happens if they have a land claim in North Dakota. Are they going to close the Mercier Bridge again?" Actually what I said was "Do they have to block the bridge every time in order to get the government to take notice?" That's all they had of me. It looked pretty bad. Nat, you know, I'm a native sympathizer. I have good friends there - chief of the Band Council, Alwyn Morris. . . I could go on and on. I have blood relatives on the Reserve. My aunt happens to be Indian. They edited it all out.

Nat: It does sound bad. Did you get hold of Channel 12 to straighten it out, so that you could explain yourself properly?

Caller: You know, I've been a sports reporter, Nat, and I know that sometimes people are taken out of context. I don't blame the journalist, but it's still bad. I know about editing, but that doesn't help me here. I just want you to know the missing part, which I think is very important. I'm a sympathizer and I came across as the opposite. People might not like it too much, but that's how I feel anyway.

Nat: Well, we got your message. Take care and goodnight

(August 16, 1990).

What is very important about having an audience raise these questions is that it enables all of us to simultaneously hear conflicting viewpoints about the same set of issues and events. Testimonials like this one contradict much of what conventional journalism schools teach us about "objectivity" and unbiased description. Moreover, they provide opportunities for learning some very significant lessons about media literacy; e.g., that the appearance of seamless arguments presented in documentary formats represents a series of constructed editorial decisions based on preferred interpretive frameworks.

What CKRK clearly showed by the opinions and statements it drew together was that what appears, after editing, to be clean and simple analysis is composed of conflicting sources of information; that evidence for journalistic arguments is clearly selected; that hosts have some discretion in manipulating contradictory on-air opinions.

Attentive listening to CKRK's talk-back programming provoked listeners' questions about the validity of information sources of mainstream radio channels in the Montreal region. If English, French, and Mohawk radio were providing such variants on what was happening "out there in the pines" and "on the bridge", who was the audience to believe? Was there not an "objective" set of events taking place that could generate a common set of descriptions to all of its witnesses? Furthermore, why did the media distort what people were saying? And, which of all the competing media narratives was telling audiences the actual truth? Could there be a truth "out there in the pines" or on the Mercier bridge, or is it all relativistic? Do media provide a space in which struggles over preferred meanings of events takes place all of the time?

The Mohawk/non-native conflicts and the multiplicity of voices

competing to narrowly define the public's view of the events rendered the process of media construction visible and audible. By listening to the raw material and then relistening to it in its transformed version "on the news", even the least educated of listeners could learn about the process of editing and journalists' privileging of certain information.

Concluding Comments

Mediaspace as a site for struggle over dominant meanings has become a widely recognized issue (Bennett 1980, van Dijk, 1991). CKRK added two critical elements to the range of broadcasts within the public mediaspaces available that summer. First, it became an interactive audio billboard for the internal community under siege. Second, it encouraged cross-cultural conversation exchanges between those inside and those outside the Mohawk barricades.

CKRK deliberately used phone-in conversation times with non-native listeners to demonstrate that Mohawk people in general were not the "stereotypical" Warrior-like savage Indians that had been depicted in much of the mainstream media. Although limited in number, CKRK hosts were able to communicate in reasoned and unWarriorlike terms and consequently helped to break down some of the simplistic public characterizations that "all Mohawks are Warriors". In inviting non-native listeners to access their programming and eavesdrop on internal discussions going on within the Mohawk community, they hoped to and did, indeed, recruit a lot of support for their political, social, cultural, and land claims positions.

The case of the small narrowcasting radio station CKRK popularly and successfully contesting the weighty discourses generated by mainstream broadcasters provides ample evidence to the argument that no matter how small the transmitter, access to the airwaves is a powerful

tool for challenging and influencing public opinion formation.

Endnotes

I would like to thank Conway Jocks for sharing his ideas and perceptions both during the summer of 1990 and during the writing of this paper, and Dr. Valerie Alia for her comments and editorial suggestions on an earlier draft of this essay.

1 **An Autobiographical Note:** As I write this short essay, I vividly recall the tension and anticipation with which I listened to CKRK every night that I was in Montreal during the summer of 1990. I paid close attention to Radio Kahnawake (CKRK) as I had been involved in its early organization and development (1978 - 1981) and still knew several of the key players who ran the station. Furthermore, I had just finished running a training course for the community radio station volunteers in Kanehsatake (CKHQ) and was familiar with the political issues that had led to the summer's tension. Because I was well beyond their 10-watt coverage perimeter, I had no access to Radio Kanehsatake broadcasts and was, therefore, riveted to CKRK.

2 As the reader will note, I hesitate to use the word "crisis" to describe the Mohawk/governments' confrontation over the summer, due to the ongoing nature of the political conflicts. Furthermore, it is important that the reader understand why I use the term governments' in the plural. I am here referring to the conflict between the Mohawks and three levels of

government: the municipal government of Oka, the government of the Province of Quebec, and the Government of Canada.

3 According to Jocks, CKRK:

> **could not afford or care to belong to the BBM (Bureau of Broadcast Measurement) to find out what our ratings are. But our mole at one of Montreal's major radio stations told us that we were pulling in almost half a million listeners during our phone-in segment. If true, that is the biggest story of all - and the best kept secret (Jocks 1991: 10).**

Throughout the summer, different journalists quoted different figures, all of which were in the approximate range of the BBMs.

4 The 1976 Broadcasting Act was in effect during the summer of 1990. On June 4, 1991 a new Broadcasting Act for Canada was passed which enshrines both aboriginal and multicultural broadcasting.

5 *Onen* means 'good-bye' in the Mohawk language.

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